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| **POLSC 524: POLITICAL ISLAM**

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| **Kansas State University, Department of Political Science**Spring 2019(MWF 10:30-11:20 PM, Calvin 2012)\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_Dr. Sabri Ciftci **Office Hours:**Calvin Hall 011D TBA or by appointmentEmail: ciftci@ksu.edu (preferred method of contact)  |

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*Note: This syllabus is prepared with the curriculum development grant awarded by the Global Religion Research Initiative at Notre Dame University.*

**Course Description**

Islamist ideas and movements have shaped the social and political landscape throughout the Muslim world. Not only legitimate political actors but also transnational violent movements in Muslim societies have captured a lot of attention around the globe. Furthermore, integration of Muslim minorities and the rise of anti-Muslim sentiments have emerged as contentious issues in Western democracies. Consequently, political Islam has become a contested topic in contemporary times.

This course offers a general overview of the global political Islam. To this end, it aims to provide scientific and objective information about Muslim politics. The class will answer many questions concerning a wide array of topics. Who are the Islamists? Is Islam compatible with democracy? What is Shari’a? What role do religious scholars play in Muslim majority societies? Who are the Salafis? What are the religious roots of Muslim political parties? Why is anti-Muslim sentiment so prevalent in the West? What are the political implications of Sunni-Shia divide? What is jihad? Do Islamic values shape Muslim political attitudes? What is the political significance of Islamic caliphate? To answer these questions, this course will survey the following topics:

* Islam and democracy
* Islamist movements
* Political Islamism and electoral politics
* Shia-Sunni division
* Shari’a politics
* Anti-Muslim sentiment
* Muslim political attitudes
* Global jihad
* Theory of Caliphate
* Muslim political thought

These themes will be discussed in the context of diverse political systems in the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, and Europe. The reading materials will include introductory, social scientific, and primary texts. Students will be exposed to these texts within a simulating and interactive learning environment. Group discussions, role-play, and presentations will be an essential part of the learning experience in this class.

**Goals and Course Objectives**

The main goal of this course is to provide a better understanding of the political Islam. As such, it is designed to educate students about the political ideas, actors, and institutions in the Muslim World. An important objective is to introduce social scientific, scholarly works about political Islam. The course also exposes students to the primary texts of Muslim political thought of medieval and modern ages. With the completion of the course, students are expected to obtain a critical outlook in evaluating the abundant information presented about this topic in contemporary times. The course also aims to teach students about the diversity of Islam as a heterogeneous belief system and culture in a globalized world.

**Course Rules**

This class is an upper level political science course that will count toward comparative politics, political thought and Primary Text Certificate (PTC) degree requirements. You can find more information about PTC at <http://artsci.k-state.edu/primary/> . This class will also count toward social science elective for various majors. The course website is accessed through http://public.online.ksu.edu. You will have to check the course website regularly for changes to the reading assignments and the class schedule.

There is no required textbook for this course. Most readings are available on CANVAS or through K-State libraries. You should also check the current events to keep up with the most recent developments about Muslim politics. You may use any major newspaper or online news portal of your choice for this task.

The reading materials include introductory texts, peer-reviewed journal articles or book chapters, and primary texts of Muslim philosophers. The average reading load is 50-60 pages per week, but in some weeks you may read fewer or more pages. Regardless of the reading load, some of the course materials are challenging and require careful attention as well as preparation in advance. Since one of the goals is to expose you to social scientific treatment of Political Islam, you will need to educate yourself about reading peer-reviewed journal articles. I will provide additional guidance as needed during the discussion of these articles. We will reserve the last 15-20 minutes of class time to discuss the primary texts. I will post the discussion questions for primary texts on CANVAS before our meeting. Your participation is essential for the success of these sessions.

As your instructor, I will facilitate learning by providing an effective instructional environment. I will update the online course as required and communicate the changes to you by email or through CANVAS. The course material, exams, and due dates will be updated in a timely manner. Your success depends on timely preparation, participation, and completion of assigned tasks. It is imperative that students complete the assigned readings and assignment carefully. You should submit your assignments in a timely manner. If you fail to submit your assignment on time, you will be penalized 1/3 of a letter grade for each late day. Documented medical emergencies and university related activities qualify for the extension of submission date. I reserve the right to reject this kind of excuse depending on the nature of the emergency.

**Course Requirements**

The following assignments and grading scheme are required for this course.

*Participation in Discussion Sessions (15 Points)*

*Take Home Exams (30 Points)*

*Reaction Papers (25 Points)*

*Term Paper (30 Points)*

**Participation (15 Points):** Participation points will be awarded according to (i) your contribution in the discussion sessions about the primary texts and (ii) the presentation of term papers during the last two weeks. These presentations should briefly summarize your research findings in 5-10 minutes. Each student should come to these sessions well prepared and ready to ask and answer questions.

**Unit Exams (30 Points):** There will be three take home exams in this course each with equal point value. Roughly, we will have one exam every four weeks. These exams will include one or two questions and ask you to address a problem covered in the respective unit. The exams are open book and open notes. These exams will ask you to apply social scientific knowledge to a substantive problem. As such, you will need to understand and critically evaluate the assigned readings. Your writing should provide an analytical narrative. Simply summarizing the readings will not cut it; rather, your answer should integrate various approaches presented in the articles with your own ideas. The answer should include a problem statement, a good account of existing approaches as described in the assigned readings, critical evaluation of these approaches, their integration into a meaningful narrative, your own argument, proposed solution, and a conclusion. Formatting and page specifications will be provided with each exam.

**Reaction Papers (25 Points):** Students will submit 5 reaction papers responding to the discussion questions about primary texts. These reaction papers can address one or several discussion questions and should include your own ideas about the primary text. The maximum limit for these papers is 600 words. You can choose any five of the ten primary texts to write your reaction papers. Each paper is worth 5 points.

**Term Paper (30 points):** The final paper will be 6-7 pages long, typed in word with 12 font size. Suggested paper topics are attached at the end of the syllabus (Table 1). Your paper should include a good introduction to the topic (one paragraph), a good description and discussion of the topic based on your research, and your own comments. You can use scholarly papers and books, but absolutely no Wikipedia or other online entries. While Wikipedia and similar online resources contain useful information, this information does not meet the scientific standards. The acceptable resources include peer-reviewed journals, journals with a good reputation (e.g. Foreign Affairs), reports and articles published by prominent think-tanks (e.g Brookings, Council on Foreign Relations), books published by a university press or well-known publishers. If you are not sure about which resources to use, compile a list of articles, book chapters, etc. and send the list to me for approval (do not post the actual resources, but just the list of resources). I may recommend additional resources based on your list. To avoid plagiarism, you should report references for quotes, cite the resources you used in the paper, and include a bibliography page in the end. I do not require a specific reference style but I recommend using APA. For more information see [**http://www.apastyle.org/**](http://www.apastyle.org/)

**Grading Scheme**

Letter grades for the course will be assigned along the following scale:

A: 89.5% or greater B: 79.5-89% C: 69.5-79% D: 59.5-69% F: Below 59.5%

**Extra Credit**

Extra credit points are possible for a maximum of 5 points. You will read a double-blind peer-reviewed journal article and write a reaction paper to earn extra credit points. One paper is worth 2.5 points. Writing a review paper does not guarantee that you will be awarded full points. Your extra credit assignment grade will depend on the quality of your work. My approval is required for the journal article to be reviewed.

**Academic Honesty/ Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

Kansas State University has an Honor System based on personal integrity, which is presumed to be sufficient assurance in academic matters and that one's work is performed honestly and without unauthorized assistance. Undergraduate and graduate students, by registration, acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Honor System. The policies and procedures of the Honor System apply to all full and part-time students enrolled in undergraduate and graduate courses on-campus, off-campus, and via distance learning. The honor system website can be reached via the following URL: [www.ksu.edu/honor](http://www.ksu.edu/honor)."Any student with a disability that needs a classroom accommodation, access to technology or other assistance in this course should contact Disability Support Services and/or their instructor."

**Course Schedule**

**WEEK 1: Introduction and How to Read a Scientific Journal Article**

During the first week, the course syllabus and logistics will be introduced. In our first meeting, we will also talk about strategies for reading quantitative and qualitative peer-reviewed journal articles. These strategies will help students to get the most out of social scientific work. We will also read an introductory text to provide a brief overview about Islam as a global religion. The assigned reading introduces the main pillars of Islam, some rudimentary concepts, a brief survey of early Islamic history, and sources of Islamic traditions. This unit also includes Muhammad’s Farewell Sermon as a primary text.

**Reading Assignment:**

* How to Read (and Understand) a Social Science Journal Article, available at <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/files/instructors/How_to_Read_a_Journal_Article.pdf>
* Shepard, Introducing  Islam, Routledge, 2009, ch. 3, 4, 8, 10 (27 pages).

**Primary Text:**

Farewell Sermon by Muhammad

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 1 Due**

**WEEK 2: What is Islam?**

We will read a chapter form a book authored by Shahab Ahmed. Ahmed’s chapter from his important book, *What is Islam*, will expose students to a non-traditional and non-legal approach to Islam as a belief system. Ahmed presents a very unconventional view of Islam that challenges such notions as “Islamic” and “Islamicate.” This view focuses on “how Muslims historically understand Islam” and as such presents a highly flexible view of this global religion. Ahmed conceptualizes Islam with political and ethical theory.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Ahmed, Shahab. What is Islam?: The Importance of Being Islamic. Princeton University Press, 2015, Chapter 1, pp. 1-50.

*Class Activity: Discussion of Ahmed, Chapter 1, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**WEEK 3: What is political Islam? Part I**

For two weeks, we will discuss the relationship between Islam and Politics. The unit opens with a brief history of Muslim politics including the early ages, the age of Caliphs, and the Islamic empires. The unit includes an introductory text by Esposito and a historical account by Crone. This unit also includes two primary texts. The Constitution of Medina, a charter signed between Muslims and other religious communities (i.e. Christians and Jews relates to interfaith dialogue and multi-religious co-existence. A second text introduces excerpts from Ibn Khaldun’s al-Muqaddimah. Ibn Khaldun is the prominent 14th century North African scholar applying social scientific methods in study of history, sociology, and political science. Students will write a one-page reaction paper about this text.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Esposito, John L. *Islam and politics*. Syracuse University Press, 1998, pp. 1-29
* Crone, Patricia. *God's rule: government and Islam*. Columbia University Press, 2004, Chapters 1 & 2.

**Primary Text:**

The Constitution of Medina

Al-Muqaddimah, Excerpts, Princeton Classics, 2015.

*Class Activity: Discussion of Constitution of Medina and al-Muqaddimah, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 2 Due**

**WEEK 4: What is political Islam? Part II**

We will continue our discussion of Islam and Politics during Week 3. Ayoob focuses on Islamic revivalism and the emergence of political Islam as a reaction to Western colonialism. The second reading of the week explains the transformation of Islamic movements in the era of globalization and illiberal democracy. Yenigun explores the changing discourses of Islamist movements and elaborates on a new divergence between what he dubs “Islamism versus Muslimism.” This unit also includes the discussion of select pages from Signposts, the most influential work of Sayyid Qutb. Students will write a one-page reaction paper about this text.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Ayoob, Mohammed. *The many faces of political Islam: religion and politics in the Muslim world*. University of Michigan Press, 2009, Chapter 1.
* Yenigun, Halil Ibrahim. "The new antinomies of the Islamic movement in post-Gezi Turkey: Islamism vs. Muslimism." Turkish Studies 18.2 (2017): 229-250.

**Primary Text:**

Qutb, Signposts, in Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. *Princeton readings in Islamist thought: texts and contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press, 2009.

*Class Activity: Discussion of Signposts, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 3 Due**

**\*\*\*Exam 1 Due (Take Home Exam posted online)\*\*\***

**WEEK 5: Islamic Models of Statehood**

This week’s lecture focuses on different models of Islamic statehood. The chapter from Feldman’s book presents a comparative account of state-religion relations in Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. Feldman explains the historical divergences in the role of Islam across these very different cases by putting Islamic law and mediaeval model of statehood at the center of his discussion. This unit concludes with the reading of Al-Farabi’s the Virtuous City as a utopic model of Islamic statehood.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Feldman, Noah. The fall and rise of the Islamic state. Princeton University Press, 2012, Part 3.

**Primary Text:**

Al-Farabi, the Virtuous City, select pages

*Class Activity: Discussion of the Virtuous City, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 4 Due**

**Week 6: Islam and Democracy I (Theoretical Foundations)**

Week 6 looks at the theoretical foundations of the debate about Islam and democracy. We will first read a chapter from *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism*. In this chapter, Sachedina presents the Islamic roots of pluralist and democratic ideas from the original sources. Filali-Ansary builds on the nineteenth century encounters of Islam with modernity, and especially the ideas of the modernists, to demonstrate the roots of pluralist ideas in Islam. Finally, Stepan introduces the idea of ‘twin tolerations’ as a prerequisite for emergence of democracy in Muslim majority societies. ‘Twin tolerations’ require that there is a separation between political and religious spheres and that the actors on both sides have mutual respect for each other*.* We will also read an excerpt from Namik Kemal of Ottoman Empire on Islam and democracy.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Sachedina, Abdulaziz. The Islamic roots of democratic pluralism. Oxford University Press, 2001, Chapter 1.
* Filali-Ansary, Abdou. "Muslims and democracy." Journal of Democracy 10.3 (1999): 18-32.
* Stepan, Alfred. "Tunisia's transition and the twin tolerations." Journal of Democracy 23.2 (2012): 89-103.

**Primary Text:**

Namik Kemal (Turkey, 1840-1888), “Wa shawirhum fi’l-amr” (And Seek Their Counsel in the Affair [Qur’an, 3:159], in in Kurzman, Charles, ed. Liberal Islam: a source book. Oxford University Press, USA, 1998.

*Class Activity: Discussion of “*Wa shawirhum fi’l-amr*”, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 6 Due**

**Week 7: Islam and Democracy II (Empirical Associations)**

This week introduces the micro level empirical research examining the relationship between Islam and democracy. The first reading is a seminal study by Mark Tessler that examines whether religiosity affects support for democracy in several Arab societies. Ciftci argues that Muslims support both shari’a and democracy and do not necessarily choose between Islamic and democratic models of governance. Both studies focus on micro-foundations of support for democracy and they show that contrary to the essentialist claim, Islam and democracy are compatible at the individual level. We will also read a text by Abdolkarim Soroush to introduce a contemporary philosophical perspective on the roots of pluralist ideas in Islam.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Tessler, Mark. "Islam and democracy in the Middle East: The impact of religious orientations on attitudes toward democracy in four Arab countries." Comparative Politics (2002): 337-354.
* Ciftci, Sabri. "Secular-Islamist cleavage, values, and support for democracy and shari’a in the Arab world." Political Research Quarterly 66.4 (2013): 781-793.

**Primary Text:**

Abdolkarim Soroush, Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam

*Class Activity: Discussion of “Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam’, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 7 Due**

**Week 8: Islamist Party Moderation**

This week looks at Islamist political parties and the question of Islamist party moderation. Tezcur examines the moderation trajectories of Islamist parties in Iran and Turkey. His main contention is that moderation is not a simple process and it involves change in ideology and behavior. Tomsa looks at Indonesia’s Islamist party PKS and explains how its political strategy evolves under the constraints of electoral institutions.

**Reading Material:**

* Tezcür, Günes Murat. "The moderation theory revisited: The case of Islamic political actors." Party Politics 16.1 (2010): 69-88.
* Tomsa, Dirk. "Moderating Islamism in Indonesia: Tracing patterns of party change in the Prosperous Justice Party." Political Research Quarterly 65.3 (2012): 486-498.

**\*\*\*Exam 2 Due (Take Home Exam posted online)\*\*\***

**Week 9: Shari’a**

This week’s discussion introduces a historical and theoretical review of development of Islamic law (Shari’a) starting from early ages into the medieval times and to the modern era. Hallaq presents a fine account of transformation of Islamic law and shows that it is far from being static. We continue our discussion of Islamic law by Mawdudi’s work on the contemporary application of Islamic law. Mawdudi is considered to be one of the pioneers in the theory of Islamic governance and the excerpt presents a sample of his contribution.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Wael Hallaq, Islamic law: history and transformation, in The New Cambridge History of Islam, pp. 142-183

**Primary Text:**

Sayyid Abu'l-A'la Mawdudi, The Islamic Law, in Euben, Roxanne L., and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds. *Princeton readings in Islamist thought: texts and contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Princeton University Press, 2009.

*Class Activity: Discussion of “The Islamic Law”, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 8 Due**

**Week 10: Sunni vs Shi’a: Caliphate vs Imamate**

This week first presents the eternal sectarian division in the Muslim world: Shia versus Sunni. The unit opens with a basic treatment of this division by introducing the main concepts and actors. Then, we discuss the political implications of Sunni vs Shia division for the governance models. Enayat presents a theoretically and historically rich account about distinct theories of caliphate and imamate and how they follow the doctrinal frameworks of Sunni and Shai sects. The excerpt from Al-Mawardi’s Al-Ahkam-As-Sultaniyyah nicely complements these readings by providing a perspective from the 11th century.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Council on foreign Relations Sunni-Shia Divide [http://www.cfr.org/peace-conflict-and-human-rights/sunni-shia-divide/p33176#!](http://www.cfr.org/peace-conflict-and-human-rights/sunni-shia-divide/p33176#!/)
* Enayat, Hamid. Modern Islamic Political Thought, Chapter 1, IB Tauris, 2005.

**Primary Text:**

Al-Mawardi, al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyyah, Chapter 1, The Contract of Imamate

*Class Activity: Discussion of “al-Ahkam As-Sultaniyyah”, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 9 Due**

**Week 11: Muslims in the West**

This week discusses the question of Islam in the West from two different perspectives. Ciftci’s paper looks at anti-Muslim sentiments in five Western nations. In addition to providing a conceptual map of ‘Islamophobia’ Ciftci explains the attitudinal sources of anti-Muslim feelings among the Western publics. Erik Love presents a fine treatment of Islamophobia in the US by bringing evidence from public opinion surveys. Oliver Roy argues that radicalization is not a “religion” problem as much as it is a problem of socio-economic deprivation and lack of integration.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Ciftci, Islamophobia and Threat Perceptions, Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs
* Love, Erik, What to do About Islamophobia? <https://www.ispu.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/ISPU_Brief_Islamaphobia.pdf>
* Roy, O., 2003. EuroIslam: The jihad within? The National Interest, pp.63-73.

**Week 12: Jihad and Transnational Violence**

In this unit, you will learn about Jihad, the so-called ‘Holy War’ in Islam. Gerges presents a non-technical overview about the ideology and history of transnational terrorist organizations. He explains how terrorist organizations justify their violence in the name of Islam. Hashim presents a scholarly view about the latest incarnation of Islamist violent organization: ISIS. We continue our discussion with a commentary by medieval scholar Ibn Taymiyyah.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Gerges, Fawaz A. *The far enemy: why Jihad went global*. Cambridge University Press, 2009,  Introduction
* Hashim, Ahmed S. "The Islamic State: From al-Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate." Middle East Policy 21.4 (2014): 69-83.

**Primary Text:**

Ibn Taymiyyah, The Mardin Fatwa

*Class Activity: Discussion of “The Mardin Fatwa”, Discussion Questions posted online.*

**\*\*\*Reaction Paper 10 Due**

**\*\*\*Exam 3 Due \*\*\***

**Week 13: Gender, Western Hegemony, and Muslim Public Opinion**

This unit concludes the course by introducing two fine examples of cutting-edge research about Muslim political attitudes. Nugent, Masoud, and Jamal use experiments to show the great nuances in Muslims’ perceptions of the West. In a second study, the same team shows that scripture can be a source for gender egalitarianism and women’s empowerment.

**Reading Assignment:**

* Nugent, Elizabeth, Tarek Masoud, and Amaney A. Jamal. "Arab Responses to Western Hegemony: Experimental Evidence from Egypt." Journal of Conflict Resolution (2016)
* Masoud, Tarek, Amaney Jamal, and Elizabeth Nugent. "Using the Qur’ān to Empower Arab Women? Theory and Experimental Evidence From Egypt." Comparative Political Studies 49.12 (2016): 1555-1598.

**\*\*\*Term Paper Due**

**Week 14 & 15: Research Forum**

Presentation of term papers.

**Table 1: Suggested Project Topics**

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| AKP of Turkey | Islamist Parties and Elections in the Arab Spring | Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World |
| Hezbollah | ISIS | Islamist Parties in Indonesia |
| Islamists in Sub-Saharan Africa | Anti-Shari’a Legislation in the US | Political Philosophy of Qutb |
| Hijab | Post-Islamism | Ennahda |
| Ali Shariati | Boko Haram |  Salafis |
| Political Philosophy of Soroush | Political Philosophy of Mawdudi | Anti-capitalist Muslims (Turkey) |